

SPiRiT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Roman Revolution.

From The N. Y. Tribune. The threats of France have obtained the desired object. The Italian Government, after hesitating awhile whether to stand up firmly for the outraged honor of the nation, or cowardly to acknowledge the supremacy of France, has chosen the latter course. It has given to Louis Napoleon positive pledges that the people of the Papal States shall be kept subject to the temporal power, though they should unanimously protest against it; that the Italian unity shall not be consummated, and all the commands of France shall be faithfully executed.

For the present the Roman revolution seems to be at an end, but the idea of establishing the national unity in Italy is not on that account abandoned. We shall soon hear of another plan of campaign. The present Government has cruelly disappointed the Party of Action. Garibaldi and his friends thought that the Government, in its servility towards France, would do more than required to do by that September Convention, and that, in the case of an insurrection in the Papal States, the Government itself would observe a neutral position, and would keep off the intervention of other powers. The King and Rattazzi evidently wished to pursue precisely this course, and seem, for some time, to have seriously meditated it. But when the hour of final decision arrived, the courage of the Government failed, and the demand of France was submitted to. With such a Government, the Party of Action will probably think, no headway can be made. Garibaldi, in his last proclamation, declared Rattazzi to be a disgrace to the nation. Ricciotti Garibaldi, the second son of the Liberator, in an address delivered recently to an English meeting, declared that his father made a mistake in calling Victor Emanuel the Re Galantuomo. This feeling is likely to spread. Italy wants Rome, if possible, in cooperation with the National Government; but if the National Government refuses cooperation, then in spite of it.

The French Government has achieved a triumph; but there are triumphs which, if repeated, destroy the victor. The victory over the Italian Government may prove to be of this kind. Henceforth France, instead of Austria, is the mortal enemy of the Italian people. There has already been a riot against the diplomatic representative of France in Naples, and it seems likely that other riots of the same character may follow. It can certainly not be to the advantage of France to have two nations, like Prussia and Italy, chafing under a yoke which France tries to fasten upon them. The latest despatches from Florence throw some doubt on the reported end of the revolution. It is stated that the Italian reply to the French ultimatum has not yet been given, that Menotti Garibaldi is still in the field, and that General Garibaldi has once more escaped from Caprea. We fear, however, that the French accounts of the submission of Victor Emanuel to Louis Napoleon will be found to be substantially correct. They are confirmed by the report that Rattazzi has resigned, and has been succeeded by General Menabrea, who, more than any other prominent statesman of Italy, represents the interests of the temporal power.

Hopes and Purposes of the Democratic Party.

From The N. Y. Times. We appreciate the candor with which the World reveals the calculations of its party on the subject of reconstruction. They do not essentially differ from the view we have already imputed to the Democracy, but they are noticeable as an explicit avowal of plans and purposes entertained in expectation of further electoral successes. Let us look at the admitted facts and the suggestive inferences of the Democratic organ.

The World admits, in the first place, that "at least four years must elapse before the Reconstruction acts can be repealed, even though the Democrats should win every election during that period, if the Republican party uses its power to the utmost." Now, considering the quarter from which it comes, this is a tolerably conclusive confession as to the irreversible character of the Congressional policy. Four years will surely suffice for the solution of the reconstruction problem. Even supposing that the present measure may not operate effectually in all its details, four years will constitute a period ample for modification, amendment, and, if need be, the absolute enforcement of any probable conditions which Congress may dictate. And the four years' term, remember, is predicated on the assumption that every election from now till the end will result favorably to the Democrats. The hypothesis could not possibly be more inimical to the Republicans. But it leaves them four years for the execution of their policy. More than that we are not disposed to desire, unless they mean while prove themselves equal to the emergency.

Nevertheless, as the World takes for granted the readiness of Republican Senators voluntarily to surrender their power, and gratuitously to sacrifice the policy of their party, "when it becomes clearly evident" that the Democrats are on the eve of restoration to power. We are told that "the Republicans virtually conceded this in their election appeals," which is more than we previously knew. For, though it is said that "the success of the Democratic party would break down the Reconstruction acts, and restore the Rebels to power," we interpret the saying as an exposition of Democratic purposes rather than an indication of any probable success on the part of the Democracy. Besides, an argument does not possess much practical significance which starts with an improbable hypothesis.

It may be thought, for Democratic orators and journalists to predict the victory for their party in every election during the next four years; but the attempt to convert a piece of party swaggering into a sober reason for believing that the Senate will succumb to the combined forces of Democrats and Rebels, is simply absurd. The World may see in it sufficient to justify its own change of base on the reconstruction question; but we are sure that the Republicans will regard it only as an incentive to the prompt and uncompromising completion of the work they have begun.

On the theory that the Democrats may "drive the whole (Republican) party out of the Lower House in the forty-first Congress," the temporary maintenance of the Senate by the Democrats is a dead letter after the 4th of March, 1869. This estimate, however, pro-

supposes the election of a Democratic President next year, as well as a clean sweep in the Congressional elections—a somewhat extravagant calculation in view of the fact that, notwithstanding all their boasting, what are called Democratic victories have, with a single exception, been the results of Republican apathy, not of an actual gain in votes.

After having thus frankly proclaimed its hopes and the ground thereof, the World proceeds with marvellous ingenuously to unfold the Democratic policy concerning the future of the South and the Union. Here again everything hinges upon the hypothetical. To comprehend the philosophy of the World's teaching, we are required to concede that the Democrats and the unrepentant Rebels of the South united will be strong enough to thwart the execution of the present plan, and to do much towards dictating terms of compromise. The manner in which this aspect of the Democratic case is stated happily blends the arrogant and the ludicrous.

"The strong point of the Republicans will be their large present majority in Congress; the strong point of the Democrats their certainty of defeating the radical policy; the strong point of the South the ability of its white inhabitants to resist the reconstruction scheme by standing aloof, and surrendering the control of it to the negroes. Both the South and the Democratic party would be willing to make peace on these terms, and the question is, whether, instead of two or four years hence, the Republicans had better make concessions than to stand out and lose all."

So, because Pennsylvania has elected a Democratic Judge by a majority less than a thousand and because Ohio, while electing a Republican Governor, has sent a Democratic majority to the State Legislature, we are required to concede to the Democratic party a right to substitute for reconstruction the almost unconditional restoration of the South! And because the Southern malcontents choose to stand aloof from the measures now in progress—relying upon Democratic success to restore them to the mastery—we are asked to recognize them as parties to a negotiation for restoring the Union! In other words; the men who fought against the Union, with their Northern abettors, are to be allowed to prescribe the terms on which they will come back into the Union.

In the negotiation for compromise which the World proposes, the Republican party, although confessedly clothed with controlling legislative authority for years to come, is expected to give up everything. There is to be some settlement, indeed, and on a single point some concession. But what the settlement is to be, and how far concession is likely to extend, may be inferred from the World's programme. On one side is to be the Republican party; on the other are to be the Democratic party, the Southern malcontents and President Johnson. And as it is to be a matter of negotiation and a settlement on the most amicable terms, no difficulty in comprehending the purpose of the party for which the World dogmatically speaks. It rests in a nutshell. Excepting only that the freedmen are to be accorded an equality of civil rights, the Democratic policy covers the readmission of the South on terms dictated by its Rebel leaders—its black people disfranchised, its local governments organized on the States rights model, and its Congressional representation in the hands of the enemies of the Union.

On one point we coincided with our contemporary. We agree with it that "the country will demand the settlement of the reconstruction question without further delay." There is, however, a wide difference between us as to the nature of the settlement which the country demands. The World would have it Copperhead. We, on the contrary, are persuaded that reconstruction will go forward to completion on the basis laid down by Congress, without waiting for the remote and improbable contingencies which are the essence of the Democratic calculation. If our anticipation be verified, the World will find a rejoinder of its reasoning rendered necessary by the presence at Washington of Republican Senators and Representatives from reconstructed Southern States.

The Chase Manifesto.

From The N. Y. Herald. In his manifesto it will be seen that Mr. Chase pleads not guilty to the verdict of the late Ohio election. It was not his work. Oh, no! He is not touched, and does not intend to be influenced by it. He intends to try his cause in the Republican National Convention. He has confidence in the powerful inside machinery which he has been for seven long years contriving and getting into working order. He believes negro suffrage necessary in the South, but for the present, at least, he would ignore it in the North. We know, however, what all this means—that Mr. Chase is, in fact, the champion of universal negro suffrage and of the universal paper money monopoly of his National Banks. We know, too, that the managing radicals of the Republican camp are determined and obstinate in the prosecution of their designs; that they are devoted to Chase, and are afraid of Grant; that they are unscrupulous as to the means employed to gain their ends; and that they have controlled the machinery. It is, therefore, quite likely that they may secure the control of the Republican Nominating Convention.

We are inclined to believe, in the next place, that should Chase be thus nominated Grant will decline to run—that he will only consent to run as a harmonizing candidate, or as the spontaneous and undisputed nomination of the Republican party. Assuming, from these views, that Chase will become the Republican candidate, what course will the managers of the Democratic party pursue? The claims of the army being set aside by the Republicans, the Democracy will unquestionably, we think, bring out also a civilian, and their best representative man—the man best calculated to stand as the embodiment of Democratic principles, dogmas, and measures against the universal negro suffrage and national bank paper money monopoly programme of Mr. Chase. Horatio Seymour would be most apt to be chosen on this ground; and between Chase and Seymour the contest would be sharply contested, if not exceedingly doubtful down to the election, and worse than profitless in its consequences.

There is, however, one little difficulty in the way of Mr. Chase, which he may not be able to overcome with all his cunning arrangements. He may get this convention; but the convention may slip through his fingers. We know, for instance, that Martin Van Buren held the majority of the Democratic nomination of 1844, but failed to get the nomination. We know that Henry Clay was the favorite of the Whig convention of 1848, but that the convention yielded, although with many groans and tears, to the outside pressure in favor of Old Zach. Taylor. From similar causes and necessities Mr. Chase may find his convention a "slaughter house" in 1868. This result, however, will not be gained unless the masses of the people—Union soldiers and civilians, who believe in General Grant as the man of all men to complete the work of Southern reconstruction and restoration, proceed in

season to head off and bring to a surrender the managing radical Chase politicians.

How is this to be done? How is General Grant to be made the master of a convention if it is packed for Mr. Chase? Just as Jackson, Harrison and Taylor were made the masters of the political rings and conventions organized against them, which was by independent popular meetings all over the country in their favor. After our New York November election the field will be open for these popular movements; and we are convinced that the rank and file of the great Union cause of the war, whose favorite against all comers is General Grant, have only to get up their city, town and cross-road meetings, from Maine to California, in order to show a front which will bring the Republican National Convention to an unconditional surrender. And we want to see this done because we believe that in General Grant's election the country and all its great interests will be perfectly safe against all extremists, radicals or Copperheads; while there are many reasons to fear that a contest between Chase and Seymour, or anything in that shape, whatever the result, would only make the existing confusion worse confounded for at least four years, and perhaps for twenty years to come.

Chief Justice Chase and the Presidency.

From The N. Y. World. Mr. Chase and his trusted friends do not concede that his claims as a Republican candidate for the Presidency are extinguished by the Ohio election. Time enough has elapsed for pretty mature reflection, and the sails which were reefed during the late storm are again spread, but trimmed in accommodation to the new direction of the wind. We are now solemnly assured that Chief Justice Chase is one of the most conservative men in public life! He has been pleased, then, to make a great secret of it. We suppose we shall be still further astonished some bright morning by being told that the Tribune and the Independent, his forward eulogists, are the most conservative of our public journals. The Chief Justice has been so coy and maidenly, and the confession is now made with such blushing grace, that there is no telling how many more of these disclaiming beauties may be smitten with a secret passion for naughty conservatism!

"She never told her love, But her concealment, like a worm in the bud, Fed her hot dauntless cheek."

But the secret is at last out; and we dare say that, in the interval between the Ohio election and the confession, another part of the same description was applicable, and that the unsuspected conservative "sat like patience on a monument, smiling at grief."

There was copied recently into the editorial columns of the Tribune, with a few introductory lines fitted to pique curiosity, an article from the Cincinnati Commercial giving Mr. Chase's opinions on current public questions with so much detail and such an air of authority as to convey an impression that the writer was fresh from a consultation with the Chief Justice. The Tribune must have regarded the article as authorized, or it would not have made it so conspicuous.

In this attempt to "come the conservative dog," there are several things that invite criticism, but we pass them all for the sake of fixing attention upon one prominent aspect. When Chief Justice Chase runs up conservative colors, it proves that, in his estimation, there is no further safety to candidates in navigating radical seas. We will not look curiously into the quality of his conservatism; his advocate has made out for him the best case consistent with the facts. It was impossible to deny that Mr. Chase favored negro suffrage; but it is asserted that he does not favor universal negro suffrage; that he is no sturdier for negro suffrage in the North; that it was against his judgment that the question was submitted in Ohio; that in the South he would try to make negro suffrage palatable by the free pardon and full restoration to political rights of all the Rebels. He disapproves of confiscation; disapproves of impeachment; in short, he is against nearly all the measures on which the radicals have been expending their zeal for the last two years.

The chief value of these disclaimers lies in the implied assertion that radicalism has had its day. If it had in it the elements of reviving vitality, the course of Mr. Chase would be different. If radicalism has any future, he, of all men in the country, is the one to profit by it. When, therefore, he comes before the country with a parade of his conservatism, it may be taken as a proof that radicalism is a "lost cause." The strong tendency to nominate a man of doubtful politics like General Grant, a tendency which was manifest five months ago, attested a great ebb in the tide; but this new profession of conservatism by Mr. Chase marks the surprising rapidity with which it has since been running out. When the party spirit of Republicans has been thus let down, there is no possibility of reviving it in its old vigor.

The fact that General Grant's strongest rival, instead of attempting to make his tepid politics contemptible, and to array against him the violent instincts of the radicals, emulates Grant's conservatism and bids against him for conservative support, is the most remarkable demonstration we have yet had of the greatness of the change which is coming over the spirit of our politics. If radicalism had any chance of winning in the Presidential election, Mr. Chase, as the ablest of the radicals, would find it for his interest to differ as much as possible from General Grant, and trust to the outnumbering strength of the radical wing of the party to give him the nomination. Instead of this, he virtually concedes that there is no chance for the election of a stiff radical; and surprises the country by softening down his own politics.

The elections this year prove that there is a great conservative reaction in the general public mind of the country; the Republican preference for General Grant proves that this reaction has extended far into the Republican party; and now, the profession of conservatism by Mr. Chase shows that the radicals are so convinced of the reaction that they despair of their cause.

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